

PEACE NEWS

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Building on Sand

"SOCIALISM as a political force in France," says a writer in the *Christian News-Letter*, "appears to be dead, and we should be building on sand if we followed the advice of a certain clique to foment working-class revolution."

To call those who advocate this policy a clique is a misuse of language. There is a large body of British political opinion, from the centre to the left, which holds, with more or less conviction, that to encourage working-class revolution is the only way to weaken the German hold on Europe; and indeed this is the only policy, other than a bare pursuit of military victory, which is mooted anywhere.

But the fact that the policy is seriously, even passionately, advocated by numbers of people who cannot fairly be termed a clique does not affect the force of the assertion that to follow their advice would be building on sand. That is true. The policy simply would not work. It is already an anachronism. For the basis of the domestic and external victories of fascism in Europe is the failure of the working-class revolutionary movement. To suppose that those victories can be undone by encouraging working-class revolution is nonsense. That chapter of history is closed.

Not that it is inconceivable that, if the war were to be prolonged to mutual exhaustion (which is much less probable than it seemed a year ago), Europe, under Russian instigation, might go Communist. But that would be a very different matter from the working-class revolution envisaged by British left-centre opinion. In the case of Germany or Italy, it would mean merely the old firm under a changed name. In either case the revolutionary minority would be Nazi or Fascist. Mussolini actually was a revolutionary Socialist; and the resolute gunmen who were the fighting nucleus of the Nazi movement had generally spent some of their time fighting under the Communist flag. To look for another insurrectionary movement against fascism is chimerical. All that would happen is that the swastikas and the fasces on the armlets of the storm-troopers would be changed into hammers and sickles.

Communism, nationalism, dictatorship, and the one-party system have discovered their affinity. Possibly there are still elements on the Fascist and the Communist sides which are surprised by the discovery that their nominal enemy was their bosom friend. It may be some time yet before Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin have lunch together in a railway carriage on the Pripiet Marshes or in a barge on the Danube. But it makes no odds. They are birds of a feather—three phoenixes risen from the ashes of Social Democracy. Its ghost will not disturb them, be it never so passionately conjured forth by Mr. Brailsford and the *New Statesman*. As for communism, they can hardly conjure that. It is not concerned with defeating the Nazis or the Fascists. How could it be?

Is it fondly imagined that the working-class as a whole is less well cared for under the dictators than it is at home? The dictators are no fools. They know that their power depends on keeping the working-class contented. One of Hitler's first acts, after the occupation of Paris, was to raise the wage-rates in the "red fringe." Or is it supposed that in consequence of their privations under the British blockade the working-classes of the occupied countries will betake themselves to a revolution which will mysteriously prove to be pro-British? Why not leave out the working-class, and say a pro-British revolution, and have

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

shows that the demand for the bombing of Berlin as a reprisal for the bombing of London arises from a natural instinct, but points out that, just as society has already very wisely, and successfully, learnt to control many instincts, so we should check the instinct of

RETALIATION

RETALIATION is a natural instinct. It is closely linked with the oldest atavism which has come down to us from prehistoric times, when primitive man's struggle for survival was mainly physical, before brain, making itself the dominant factor, had enabled the hunted to become the hunter. And because it always was and still is a natural defensive instinct to hit back, there is a general consensus of opinion, both among individuals and nations, that retaliation as a means of defence, is morally justified, and is the right and natural basis for the development and better security of our social and international system, or lack of system.

But if man lived by his instincts alone, and made them the criterion of his conduct, he would be living on a par with the beasts that perish. Instinct would out-top judgment and moral consideration would have no place in his social development.

Instincts Controlled

Instinct may be a good servant, but it is a very bad master, as is sufficiently recognized in the fact that a large part of our social order and of our judicial system is directed to the control of instinct; not to its abolition, but to its discipline and guidance by rules and limitations to which, in spite of its instinctiveness, it has proved amenable.

The sex-instinct has not been allowed to follow its own course, without far-reaching social control; and even the life-instinct has been so overridden by our very imperfect system for the distribution of the necessities of life, that many thousands in this rich country of ours go underhoused and underfed without revolt—that is, without retaliation on those whose indifference to their welfare imposes on them a life of shortage and deprivation.

OUR judicial system has taken retaliation out of the hands of the individual, so that our instinct to return injury for injury is now held

TO MEET EMERGENCIES

AS we expected, the 4 gifts of 4 guineas were promptly forthcoming. That brings us again over the £50 mark for the week: £51 11s. 5½d., making the total £680 9s. 10d. Well done.

But the need remains urgent. At any moment our printing arrangements may be put out of action. To meet emergencies we need £1,000 as quickly as possible.

done with it? Since when has Britain been synonymous with working-class revolution?

The programme is a fantasy, coined in the brains of people who are dubious about a British victory, and feel the desperate need of a second string. It is a broken one. You cannot get a siren-song out of it, or even a propaganda tune. "Look you! We have Mr. Bevin in our war-cabinet, and Mr. Morrison looking after our deep shelters. Wouldn't you like that?" Perhaps, perhaps not, thinks the Belgian trade-unionist, pondering his daily bread-ration and "the solidarity of the international working-class." Anyhow, it doesn't fire his blood to revolution. He is tired of revolution. Europe is tired of revolution. It wants peace.

under general control; and as the result of centuries of experience, legal retaliation has greatly limited the savagery which it once practised; because the savagery did not pay. There was, indeed, a time when the retaliation practised by our judicial system was often greatly in excess of the wrong done, and even now a good deal of the retaliatory element in our judicial system inflicts a more lasting moral harm on the criminal than the harm of which he was guilty.

But more and more we are coming to recognize that retaliation, especially if it is excessive, is not remedial, but tends to perpetuate the criminal tendencies which it punishes.

When Instinct is Vicious

Even the Mosaic code of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," if put literally into practice, would be too savage and vengeful for the social conscience to tolerate.

Men do many cruel things in hot blood; but the cruelty, if reproduced in cold blood, as an act of retaliatory justice, becomes much more morally horrible. The instinct to retaliate is natural, but put that instinct into cold storage, and plan and calculate for its later infliction, and it ceases to be an instinct and becomes a vicious habit, degrading to those who practise it.

IT is evident, then, that the social order has wisely and successfully decided that the natural instinct for retaliation shall not be indulged in, and that if it is indulged in, it has bad results.

It is only in war that we have not yet realized how utterly vile and degrading the instinct can become—how, indeed, in the glorification of successful retaliation in the past, in the preparation and planning of it, and in the securing for it of the maximum effect, it has ceased to be a mere instinct and has become a vile and detestable expedient of which self-respecting nations should have become utterly ashamed.

A Retaliatory Law Superseded

The Christian ethic points to the Mosaic law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" as a measure of retaliation which it has superseded, and made unnecessary by its recognition of a higher and more spiritual law of retaliation—the overcoming of evil with good.

That law may seem to be a reversal of the instinct of retaliation; but it is really retaliation made spiritual—the recognition of the truth that what measure we mete shall be measured to us again, and that just as surely as cruelty breeds cruelty, hatred breeds hatred, vengeance breeds vengeance (a latent instinct of human nature), so with equal truth does mercy breed mercy, pity breed pity, forgiveness, forgiveness; and that if we show persistent good will to others, good will will come to us from them. And even if it only comes to us at long last, is it not better to plan for that than for a short-range retaliation which brings no healing in its wings?

IT is man's lack of faith in that higher power of good over evil, and that higher law of retaliation latent in human nature, which makes him still rely on the baser instinct which runs rampant in war.

And now that we are at war, there is an increasing demand (which was bound to come) for retaliation without limit, which is to fall with ghastly imprecision, not upon those who were responsible for bringing war about, but upon the innocent and the helpless. It has indeed become almost a calculation that the more the innocent and helpless are tortured and destroyed, the more effective will the retaliation prove.

Nor does it matter what instrument is used for making it effective: if, to enforce its hunger-blockade, the enemy uses submarines, we are prepared to use an equally deadly instrument. And because it does not shed blood, or cause the deaths to be sudden, we cozen ourselves that we are using a more humane and more justifiable instrument.

In all this we are reverting to a savagery far exceeding that of the Mosaic code, which did impose a limit; the savagery which some now advocate and justify is limitless, and is the more horrible because it is now calculatingly directed against those with whom we have no quarrel, but whom our acceptance of war as a remedy and our powerlessness to rescue has involved in all the consequences of ruin and suffering which war brings with it.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

Consolidating The New Order

EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

THE consolidation of "the new order" in the Balkans proceeds apace. The occupation of Rumania has been quickly followed by the conclusion of an important trade-pact between Germany and Yugo-Slavia, which provides (in the words of the Yugo-Slav Foreign Minister) "for political co-operation as well as co-operation in trade. Nothing stands in the way of the intensification of the political co-operation." Hungary is following suit. And it is probably only a matter of days before Greece toes the line.

Thus the disruption of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is amply avenged. The economic and political Gleichschaltung of Europe is being accomplished at breathless speed; and Britain has neither the power nor the plan to oppose it.

The pundits speculate on the intervention of Russia; but less hopefully now. Their thinking—as all British political thinking—is wishful and out of date. Russia and Germany (we may be sure) have a firm agreement about the future of the Straits.

SURVIVAL—OF WHAT?

A WORD of friendly warning comes from Italy. Ansaldo writes an article in Ciano's Leghorn newspaper, the *Telegrafo* (October 20), appealing to Great Britain to make peace with the Axis before losing her independence to the USA.

Here is a remarkable passage quoted in *The Times*:

When Churchill says his war-aims consist of "surviving," what does he mean? Does he himself want to survive? He will survive, for old men do not die in war. Does he mean the survival of the British men, women, and children suffering today? For the survival of the British people under the best conditions there is only one means—that of making peace immediately. Does Churchill want the Independent British State

(Continued on next page)

A Pacifist Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

to survive? This is still possible, as Hitler never dreamed of making Britain into a colony. Does Churchill want the British Empire to survive? This is impossible, for the Empire is lost already—the capital of Britain is no longer London, but New York.

A Cynical Deal

A SIDELIGHT on Ansaldo's last remark is provided by the sequel to the re-opening of the Burma road. It was immediately followed by the report that "Japan has been able to force the American and Netherlands-British oil companies in the Dutch East Indies to supply her with about 40 percent. of her oil needs."

That transaction seems to call for some illumination. For if Japan is in a position to say, "if you do not sell, we will come and take it," it seems hardly credible that she should have agreed to pay for it in sterling and dollars. Capitalist interests—in this case British, Dutch, and American—are busily engaged in selling China all over again. What, compared to profits, are a few million Chinese lives?

But the sheer cynicism of the deal, at this juncture, seems more than usually appalling. The British Government must be able, if it wishes, to control both the British and the Dutch interests. But the American are a different matter.

Arms Comparisons

I NOTICE that British representatives in the USA are adopting a much more forthright tone than has been their wont. Thus, Lord Lothian has lately declared that two things were necessary if Britain was to repel the totalitarian attack. "The first is that we of the British Commonwealth should stick it out till you are re-armed. The second is that you should develop your own production of armaments just as fast as you possibly can." That is the language used not to a neutral, but to an ally.

In the same strain, Sir Walter Layton invited an audience of American industrialists "squarely to face the issue that lies ahead of all of us who believe in the cause for which we are fighting." Sir Walter also declared that Germany's present land armament outnumbered the British by four or five to one, thereby enabling Germany to concentrate on aircraft production. "Clearly we cannot match Germany's army supplies for a very long time to come."

On that showing, air-parity is still remote; and when it comes? Mr. A. J. Cummings gives the answer in the *News Chronicle*:

Air-parity between two great belligerent nations does nothing to diminish the horror. It serves only to equalize the casualties. I am afraid that as the British bombing forces approach in number and then overtake those of the enemy, and carry their menace still deeper into enemy country, the civilian casualties on both sides will rise and this form of conflict will develop into a ferocious war of naked reprisals.

Mental Dope

WHEN German soldiers go into a restaurant in Paris—the BBC news bulletin informs us—and ask for an omelette, it has to have ten eggs in it; when they call for a steak, it must weigh a pound. I did not hear the rest of the story. Perhaps they pay for their gargantuan feasts in moonshine money; or more probably they do not pay at all, but beat up the proprietor, preparatory to handing him over to the Gestapo.

When our propaganda descends to this level of inanity, it is surely time to ask what has happened to us. If the mass of people believe it, then we may conclude that Hitler is right in holding, as a basic maxim of policy, that the mass of people will believe anything. If they do not believe it, the BBC is in need of correction.

But this dilemma is too simple; the fact is more complicated. Probably the mass of people will swallow the story as fact; the number of those who reject it outright is negligible; and there are a few hundred thousand to whom it is neither true nor false—but simply part of the hybrid mental pabulum on which they chiefly live. It is dope; they know it is dope; and yet they must have something to listen to, something to read.

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THE drive toward domestic Nazism gathers strength. The West Suffolk Education Committee has appointed a sub-committee to deal with teachers (of either sex) of whom "there was reason to believe that their efficiency as teachers was affected by their pacifist views." How "efficiency" is to be interpreted may be gathered from the explanatory comment by Lord Loch, the chairman.

He would like the Committee to have power, if it found any coming before it holding pacifist opinions, diametrically opposed to those held by the great bulk of the inhabitants, to see that their services as teachers should be terminated.

Thus a village schoolmistress, who happened to be known or suspected to have pacifist views, is to be discharged for that reason alone. She is to be dismissed as "inefficient" simply because her views do not agree with those of the majority. There is not the faintest suggestion that her real efficiency as a teacher is in any way affected, or that

the committee should consider this question at all. A pacifist must be inefficient as a schoolmistress because she holds a minority opinion!

"Matter of Practical Politics"

LORD LOCH and his fellow-stalwarts would do well to digest the following letter which appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* (October 17). But I fear their stomachs could not stand it.

Sir.—Without expressing any opinion for or against pacifism, may I be allowed to reduce this endless controversy to a matter of practical politics?

In most countries there are a certain number of people who in no circumstances will be induced to kill their fellow-beings or train to do so. These people could be, and generally are, most useful in various occupations, highly necessary whether their country is at peace or war.

A civilized country wisely recognizes this fact, and uses them accordingly. An unwise, cruel, and undemocratic nation persecutes them. Whether pacifists be mistaken fanatics or heaven-sent pioneers of a reformed world,

surely this is all there is to be said or done about it.

CYRIL BRUYN ANDREWS.

"Consolations of War"

ONE ceases to be amazed by the things written and spoken by previously intelligent people about this war. *Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat*. But Mr. Langdon-Davies, in *Reynolds* (October 20) deserves a special mention. He ends a list of Nazi failures with this astonishing remark: "We can go further. The Nazis have been very successful, but they expected to keep Britain out of the war. Our entry was a failure quite as important as the destruction of France."

Meditate that, my friends! My second prize goes to Mr. Gordon Robbins as quoted by the *Manchester Guardian* (October 19): "If war had not broken out a year ago, Mr. Churchill would have remained the most brilliantly disappointing statesman of our time. I am collecting these items for an anthology to be called 'The Consolations of War.' Entries are invited."

BRITAIN in the POST - WAR WORLD

IN these momentous, world-shaking days, a ruthless nemesis is meting out a terrible punishment upon a civilization that has flouted justice, reason, and common human decency and thereby forfeited the right and at last the power to continue.

Having enslaved and dehumanized the greater part of the human race by a merciless imperialism and a ruthless industrialism, capitalist civilization has reached an impasse from which release is now being sought in the shattering blows of total warfare and the mechanistic organization of totalitarian regimes.

Unfortunately, this civilization does not know what is happening to it; it does not realize that it is in the last stages of decay and cannot possibly survive.

It lost Russia in the Great War and Italy in the war's aftermath. Versailles and the slump of 1930, assisted by Ottawa, knocked out Germany and Japan, both of which, along with Italy, have in the last ten years been dealing shattering blows at the capitalist citadel. Capitalist France has already collapsed in the present war, and by the time the war terminates what democracy there is still left in the world will probably collapse from sheer fright in the world economic conditions which will then prevail.

In making that prophecy I am assuming that British capitalism will not rise to the occasion of its last great opportunity to save democracy, and that it will not, with lion strength and courage, offer to sacrifice class and national sovereignty, social privilege, and economic monopoly on behalf of democracy. Yet nothing less in the present world-situation would convince the people of Germany or of Europe of the sincerity of Britain's professed concern for the future of civilization and especially of democracy.

THE ALTERNATIVES

There are no signs of any such sacrifice being made or offered. It thus becomes an imperative duty to consider what is likely to befall should events continue to be determined by the supreme necessity—under capitalism—of maintaining a class-dominated society.

A realization of the alternatives which confront the British nation today may possibly afford one more opportunity of preventing a big extension of totalitarianism, finally embracing the whole world. By a war to a finish, no matter who wins it, we cannot escape that fate. Nothing can save Britain from the onward sweep of totalitarianism except the immediate acceptance of an equal society with all its human, social, and international implications.

The world cannot continue longer except under some form of collectivism. Totalitarianism is the logical outcome of economic nationalism. It is still open to Britain to decide whether its collectivism shall be democratic or totalitarian, human or mechanistic.

Capitalists should be warned that if they fly to fascism for safety, their dictator will destroy their system and

by

WILFRED WELLOCK

consume their riches in the end, for his aim will be to make fascism, not capitalism, work, which aim would soon be the antithesis of theirs. They had better look before they leap.

UNWILLING SACRIFICE

The German nation did not want to sacrifice democracy in the crisis of 1930-33, but it did so eventually in order to escape a second national bankruptcy.

In the same way the privileged classes of Britain do not want to see democracy go, but they will probably let it go in the attempt to save their property when the crash comes. Admirable reasons will be given for doing that, in particular the threat of communism, notwithstanding that the Communists will be extolling their cause as the only means of avoiding fascism.

Lacking a revolution in the spirit, mind, and outlook of British capitalism in the interim, therefore, we must expect its reaction to the catastrophic conditions of the post-war period to be similar to that of German capitalism during the slump of 1930.

What are we able to say about those conditions?

Firstly this, that the process of dividing up the world into a few economic units, which started in earnest in 1931, has advanced so rapidly during the present war that when the war is over we shall suddenly discover that the world's economy has been revolutionized. By that time very little territory will remain outside the European, the Japanese, the American and the British orbits, the first two of which will be totalitarian.

TOTALITARIAN EUROPE

I have already given reasons why post-war Europe is likely to be under totalitarian rule for some time to come. Since it was the breakdown of capitalism which brought totalitarianism upon Germany and also the disunity in France which led to the collapse of French resistance to the German onslaught, capitalism cannot be expected to function in conditions which its collapse produced. The only issue which remains in doubt in regard to these two countries concerns the nature of the totalitarianism that will ultimately control them.

Africa will be divided between the European and the British hegemonies.

The fate of the Middle East, and the extent to which Britain may be able to trade with that region after the war is still an open question.

JAPANESE HEGEMONY

In the Far East Japan is forging ahead with the construction of a vast economic hegemony, which extends far beyond her territorial conquests. Japan's economic aggression during the last ten years has been even more successful than her territorial aggression. There is scarcely a corner of the Far East into which Japan has not penetrated with her novel trade devices. The offer of cheap, subsidized goods in return for a guaranteed market for primary commodities, in the production of which Japan is ready to give valuable expert and financial help, are temptations few countries are able to resist, despite the dangers of accepting.

This policy has of course been greatly assisted by the European war which, let it be remembered, has arisen from the same conditions as the Japanese aggression. That Britain should have assisted Japan at the expense of friendly China by consenting to a temporary closing of the Burma Road (built at great cost in money and labour by China), and while waging a war against Germany on behalf of the freedom of nations, proves how great is the military and economic power of Japan, and also that Britain is concerned about more things than honour and freedom.

A further important fact in this connection is that very recently Australia and Japan agreed to send a consul to each other's capital.

From the foregoing we may conclude (1) that whatever be the nature of the totalitarian rule in post-war Europe, it will shut out capitalist-imperialist Britain from its trade, and (2) that Japan can be relied upon to apply with rigour an "Ottawa" policy in the Far East. Indeed, when the war is over Britain must be prepared to receive several "Ottawa" boomerangs. And what of America?

(To be concluded.)

MORE DEVASTATING THAN BLITZKRIEG

'UNLESS effective measures are promptly taken," says the *British Medical Journal*, "we can foresee with the approach of winter a state of affairs in respect of contagious and infectious diseases which may prove more devastating than the Blitzkrieg."

And elsewhere in the *B.M.J.* The tuberculosis officer for Fulham has a letter describing how his consumptive patients spend their own nights in the public shelters to their own serious injury and the peril of those who share the shelter with them. This is but one of the innumerable problems of health which confront us, crowding into shelters and tubes mainly concentrated on the lack of elementary hygiene, and the possibility of epidemics arising therefrom. But when we soberly consider the admission of people incubating highly infectious diseases, and that they are already crowding into these nurseries of pestilence for sixteen solid hours of every day, the problem seems insoluble short of compulsory evacuation.

John Barclay on Salt of the Earth

THE day after Dick Sheppard was elected to the Rectorship of Glasgow he spoke to a crowded meeting at Wellingborough (the overflow was nearly as big as the meeting). He was in tremendous form and few of us guessed that he was within a week of his death. Travelling back to London alone with him that night I was conscious of his sympathy and understanding. He told me that a movement such as ours depended not so much on the "big names" but on the rank and file. One sentence I shall always remember: "It is the work of the unknown Group Leader or Secretary that keeps us together, and these men and women are the salt of the earth."

I have had almost daily evidence of that truth. Everywhere I go I meet these untiring workers. I often feel, after some particularly strenuous week-end of meetings and discussions and, best of all, talks to the few round the fire up to midnight and after, that those of us in the "seats of the mighty" take far too much for granted and do not appreciate nearly enough the day-to-day activities of the local worker who never gets even a taste of the limelight.

The Humble Member

Problems of policy and finance are the proper hunting-ground of the Executive, but neither action nor cash can come without the efforts and goodwill of the unknown and often unseen member. Leaders should not take for granted the loyalty of followers but should for ever be willing to exhaust themselves in the pursuit of the humble member on whose continued good will they depend.

The days are coming, perhaps nearer than some of us realize, when difficulties of persecution and poverty may be obstacles in the way of maintaining coherence as a movement. Already we travel with difficulty; appointments are made and cannot be kept; delays in postage disappoint and test the faith; and actual unemployment prevents individuals from moving.

Community of Friends

I am writing these notes on my way back from Bournemouth—the home par excellence of Colonel Blimp. During the week-end I have experienced the spiritual refreshment that comes from living in a community of friends. From our conferences and discussions will spring action. A closer link of understanding between those who work in bombed London and stick-in-the-mud Bournemouth will result in a deeper sense of community. What is true of Bournemouth is true of all parts if we can make possible the ceaseless flow of ideas and the warmth of personal contact. There lies the work of both Headquarters and the Groups; keeping alive the channels of friendship so that the salt may not lose its savour.

Dick Sheppard understood this, and from his understanding our movement was born. It is up to us to see that we do not falter now that times are both difficult and dangerous.

FORMER SCOUTS IN LONDON

Mr. P. D. Abbott, of 35, Haverfield Gardens, Kew Gardens, Surrey, is anxious to hear from any Scouts and Scoutmasters in the London area who have left the Scout Movement owing to the Chief Scout's ruling on absolutists. It is his intention to start a boy's club at an East End mission, and he wants help. He would also like to hear of other former Scouts doing similar work.

CHARLES DIMONT

(who points out that every pacifist can help to render service in London) concludes his article on

Pacifism in ACTION

"WHAT do you really expect from all this" an eminent Don asked me in Oxford last week, after I had outlined to him some of the work being done by pacifists in London. "Do you really think that it will make people accept pacifism in the future?" I should like to answer that question this week.

BEFORE me as I write is a detailed report of all that is being done by the organization known as Pacifist Service Units.

I doubt whether Dr. Goebbels is a regular reader of *Peace News*, but I feel that in the interests of national safety I cannot give the actual names of the places where the units are working, as this might reveal where London is most devastated.

However, the units are at the moment undertaking the following work:—

Emergency Feeding Shelters.—Units are responsible for the management of three of these, one in Central London, another in the East End and a third in the West London area. An emergency feeding shelter is a place to which those who have either been bombed out of their homes or have had to leave them because of time bombs come until fresh billets are found for them by the official billeting officer. Several hundred people are being cared for in this way. In one of them a wide variety of nationalities are to be found, including Belgians, French, Austrians, Italians, and Czechs.

Shelter Marshalling.—Besides the shelters in their own H.Q., the units have undertaken shelter marshalling work at the shelters of two very famous London churches.

Bicycle Patrols.—In two areas of London the Unit Bicycle Patrols are now operating. As soon as bombs drop anywhere near the unit's headquarters, two men set out on bicycles fully equipped with first aid kit, to

the scene of the incident. Because bicycles can easily be lifted round bomb craters or over debris, the patrol often beats the regular ARP in being first on the scene. There is abundant evidence to show that this work, in its very nature extremely dangerous, is much appreciated by the authorities.

Sanitary Squads.—This work, of which I wrote last week, is operating in one borough, and it is hoped, as soon as sufficient personnel can be found, to extend it on a larger scale.

Evacuation.—Almost daily unit members are taking charge of parties being evacuated to the provinces. On arrival at their destination, they always make sure that the evacuees are comfortably settled before leaving them.

Canteens.—Canteens distribute hot drinks and food nightly to crowded shelters in East London.

Clothes Distribution.—In co-operation with the Pacifist Service Bureau, units are distributing clothes wherever they are needed in the London area.

Shelter Surveys.—A survey of the public surface shelters in one of the London boroughs has been carried out by the Pacifist Service Units for the local authorities.

Communal Feeding.—In one area a communal breakfast centre has been started for people who have spent the night in the public shelters. They get a good breakfast for 3d. or 4d.

ARP.—A great deal of work has been done in co-operation with the regular ARP service, such as fire-fighting, demolition and rescue work.

The Government and Bomb-Proof Shelters

To the Editor.

IN view of the fact that some pacifists are ready to join in the agitation for deep bomb-proof shelters, a protest against the sheer inconsistency which is involved in the Government refusal of such shelters does not seem out of place.

Miss Ellen Wilkinson says that there is now no time to construct shelters of the Haldane type. The new Home Secretary states that persons who agitate for them and thereby spread a disaffection against the existing species are fifth columnists. The Prime Minister talks of the campaigns of 1942 and 1943. As a background to this medley of conflicting views, there is the indubitable fact that, in Spain, shelters of the Haldane type proved to be the only effective remedy for heavy bombing, and they were dug out during the progress of the war.

Many persons have already died unnecessarily as a result of inadequate shelter accommodation against heavy bombing. If medical witnesses are to be trusted, a good many more will die of epidemics bred in the shelters during the coming winter. However, it is "fifth columnist" to mention these facts.

But there is a new line of argument which might influence the Government. In view of the fact that the Spanish War only lasted for two and a half years yet proved long enough for the construction of sound shelters, Miss Wilkinson's remark suggests that the Prime Minister's talk of future distant campaigns belongs to the realm of wishful thinking. Nobody would accuse Mr. Churchill of rhetoric or exaggeration, but the two conflicting statements might prove disastrous to British propaganda if published in parallel columns in neutral or enemy countries.

There would be two remedies for this state of affairs. The one would be to dig deep shelters and thus to discredit Miss Wilkinson. The other would be to act with common sense and sanity over peace terms, thus stopping wholesale murder. The Government has more or less suggested—most recently through the person of the Home Secretary—that anybody making such suggestions should be conscripted into the battalion of the fifth column which deals with the unsettling of the inert mass of the population.

Not wishing to undergo this fate, may I content myself with a third suggestion, recently put forward by Lord Ponsonby? It is a tragedy that London should be rebuilt by eminent architects, only to be blown down again in twenty years time. Let our cities be reconstructed underground and the earth's surface be turned over to the use of those who desire to fight to a finish, to paint the map red, to smash up Berlin, or otherwise to conduct themselves in a manner prejudicial to the security and comfort of their less militant fellows. The deep shelter problem would then have solved itself.

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MICKLEWRIGHT.

17, College Court, London, W.6.

I have given these details at length because the Pacifist Service Units is probably the best known pacifist organization undertaking this type of work.

Space permitting, I could cite many other examples of individual groups of pacifists who have found their own service without any help from central headquarters. One instance is that of a group of Peace Pledge Union and Methodist Peace Fellowship members who are running an emergency shelter through which something like 3,000 people have passed since the war began.

BUT to return to the answer to my Oxford friend's question.

There can be no doubt at all that the present work of pacifist service is being deeply appreciated. The pacifists who are undertaking it have been seen and congratulated by Cabinet Ministers and others in authority. Not that this means anything in particular, but it does imply that in spite of the persecution and ill-treatment of COs that continues in some quarters, the position of the pacifist in society is becoming recognized.

I believe that one of the most important conclusions that historians will draw from the present war is that pacifism has now become an integral part of British society. By the work that is now being done I think I can safely say that this result is to be expected.

IN conclusion, I should like to say a word to the reader who lives far from London.

He may feel that, much as he would like to take part in this work, circumstances prevent him from doing so. But the very fact that he is a pacifist means that he can help us.

The cost of running relief work in London at the present time is colossal. Not only is help needed in cash, but also in kind. Such things as primus stoves, oil lamps and heaters, cooking utensils, mattresses, pillows, and tin hats are urgently needed.

Any of these articles, new or second-hand, would be welcomed at such a distributing centre as the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. There is also a great need for personnel, and if anyone really feels he wishes to give service at this time of great emergency, I will advise him to apply to such an organization as the Pacifist Service Units.

This work can only go on with the co-operation and assistance of pacifists all over the country. Wherever you are, and whoever you may be, remember that as a member of the whole body of pacifists, you can help in the work of relieving distress in London.

DID HIS DUTY—

With Regrets

The News Chronicle of October 15 carried the following story.

AU-boat commander whose torpedo killed three of the crew of an oil tanker apologized to the survivors for having to do his duty, gave them supplies and towed their lifeboat toward the Azores until the tow-rope snapped.

This story was told at Swansea yesterday by Mr. Arthur Hulland, of Killay, Swansea, cook of the oil tanker, British Fame, torpedoed in the Atlantic last August.

When the ship's lifeboat came alongside the U-boat, he said, the commander asked survivors to express his regret to the families of those the torpedo had killed.

"There you are," he added, "It is your duty to bring petrol into your country and it is mine to stop it. It is your turn this time, perhaps it may be mine next."

When the tow-rope snapped the commander set the lifeboat a course to the Azores which they reached after five and a half days.

WHICH WAY TO PEACE?

What are the facts behind the present situation?
What are the possible future developments?
What is the Pacifist answer to it all?

★ PUBLIC MEETING ★

CONWAY HALL (large hall) HOLBORN
ON SUNDAY NOVEMBER 10th AT 3 p.m.

Speakers: WILFRED WELLOCK ALEXANDER MILLER
Chairman: David Speckley

ORGANISED BY THE FORWARD MOVEMENT OF THE P.P.U.

Will readers please bring this to the notice of all who might be interested

By John W. Cowling

Two COs, who would be very glad to receive letters from fellow-pacifists, are in prison definitely (till they submit to medical examination—which they have no intention of doing). They are: No. 2016, John Archibould, Manchester Prison; and No. 5273, Francis Plumpton, B2/13, Walton Prison, Liverpool.